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II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe''yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa''ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

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881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ewe'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hand of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ewe'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

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In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] **The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.**

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] **One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."**

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

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CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating 515 (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to 224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain 789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No [343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɛhɛ"tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a [177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and 224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got 756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was 787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] [113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

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The corral (ma'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(*a*)

kalo'kaca ai'ya, kehamo'moyam, kepi''cuk, kapa''cuk ma'ṣala. kalo'kace'ea, ma'ṣal keke'le, latamale''wa . . . kula'kta.[a]

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(*b*)

wa'diṿ kaya'tuka'ṣa, kaya'tuk temesui i'ke li'eul. wi'kin le''doc kime''kayaktok i'ke ke''au, t'aiyaṿa ga'mayesa. mi''le ke''wa temi'ku. gaya'eu a''ai. hak tikumso''cie i'ke mikla a''caiya. kiki''ket a'ṣam k'e'icke tiya'mle. i'ke laye.leye's nake' akna.ite's heliki ke'le wadiṿe'se''iṿa. i'ke mi''ya, i'ke le'sic kutina'ṣa hat'e''eya untamale's-heliki le'sic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

[a] This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

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IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi''gɔla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a''gɔm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a''t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ''wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'l'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[a] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɔc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cɔk) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

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Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ts'ə'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[11] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[11] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

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V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'eca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'eq ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

825

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

276

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For [171] warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with [354] an open fire.

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly 344 used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house [171] is called daya'limi.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of 262 the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still some- 177 what used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family.

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leū), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the prin- 224 ● cipal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

●224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 39 - -An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

[P.394, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[4] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim: they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[4]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[178] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if
[648] available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. [731] A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

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When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

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Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

[824]
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To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

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to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the pos-

[787]

sessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

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Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears

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that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538] [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789

[763] [186] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope [114] hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that [237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1938, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. 224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when 791 it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this.[10]

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[10] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[11] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Daugherty) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] [789] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[764] 796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2356). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 244, 332) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[177] 825 771

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the Washo. It seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(352a-394)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (1961). Other Washo report "big times" which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called xotaavi by the Paiute (Steiner 1950) and matel bahaba by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

"I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2154-2178).

[227] [784] [262] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 224 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. [886] [841] Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who [562] [226] lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 535 [787] [178] [796] Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of my informants remembered. However, even in his time the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradually faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 529 [789] [535] As stated earlier, there appears to have been much less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

[262] [178] The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2623). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 527 [115] The following account of the pine-nut dances of the past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [See cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and usually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

PLATE IV 1-1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

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c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

[End Plate IV]

1-1 [legend appears on p. 74, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224 ●

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

[411]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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[182]

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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[114]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

203
211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

611 428 423 [768] [685] 622 [643] [178] 624 224 [756] 611 428 424 551 581

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
[787] relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
[526] relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

[537]
[178]
[783]

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently bewitch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their
754 babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give
[778] food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

861
775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use of

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the 114 section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 122 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔeʔwéʔweʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881
224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabby?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
● [224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

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489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

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177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2 [see footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224
[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
° Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

NWA 224

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE												
	Ta	Kl	Kl	Kl	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Ty	Wi	Kl	Al
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°2a. Communal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
°5. Into enclosure	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°9. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°10. With dogs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
11. In relays	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
12. Shamanism	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. In pit beside trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. Runs down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°19. Disguise	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
22. Brush carried	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
24. Fire to signal hunters	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
°25. Formal chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Informal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°27. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
°Antelope Hunting														
°27a. Communal hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
°29a. Brush fence around hill	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°30. Brush at intervals	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
31. Wings	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
36. Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
°37. Notched stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
°38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

NWA [251]

NWA [411]

NWA [736]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	Yo	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AT
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
82. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	T0	Pa	Ma	At	Se	Ty	Wd	K1	Kl
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	+	+	–	–
99a. 3	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
99b. Not fixed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
Snares, Nets, Etc.														
100. Spring-pole trap	+	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
101. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
102. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
104. Trap behind fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
107. For rodents	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
109. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
110. For large mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
113. Noose in fence gap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
116. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
117. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	•	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	•	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
122. Tunnel shape	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Willow frame	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
125. Sagebrush support	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
126. Edge staked down	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	•	–
127. Placed near water	+	+	–	+	+	•	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
129. Sagebrush wings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
132. For sage hens	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
133. For doves	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
134. For ducks	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
136. Birds driven to net	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•	+
137. With antelope disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
141. Basketry traps	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
144. 2-stick trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
145. Bait used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
146. For large mammals	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
148. For birds generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
149. For grouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	–	•	–	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
153. For carnivores	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
154. For rabbits and rodents	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
Booths and Blinds														
155. Brush enclosure	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Conical house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
159. Pit	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
160. With brush fence	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Kl	Mn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Geese	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
166. Off perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
173. Geese killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
Decoys and Disguises														
178. Live birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
182. Birdskin on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Head	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Paint arms	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
188. Deer	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
189. Antelope	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
190. Mountain sheep	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
191. Grass or brush disguise	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Waterfowl Hunting														
Communal drive:														
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit net used	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Young ducks taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
198. For ducks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
200. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
204. Chipmunk taken	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
205. Reptile hook	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
206. Geese hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
216. Crow wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
217. Hawk wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+

NWA 223
NWA [224]
NWA [224]
NWA 224

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Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	Kl	Kl2	Ka	To	Tn	Pa	Wa	At	So	Ty	Wd	Kl	Ak
NWA 224	218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	222. Flares for fuel	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
NWA 223	Eagle (and Other) Catching														
	223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
	226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
	228. On net	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWA [231]	236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	241. Eagle-catching power from dreams	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	244. Wing feathers	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
	244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	248. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	246. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWA 226	Fishing														
	*252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252g. Kinnows caught in own territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*258a. Ice pick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
N [476]	259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWX 226 227	260. Weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
	262. Platform built over river	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
	*263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	264. Conical carrying type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 370]

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Ki2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (pigs) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	°	+	°	+	+	–	+	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	°	–	–	°	°	+	°	°	–	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	–	–	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kwa) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
*348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (matata's) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	–	+	°	°	+
361. Potam taboo	–	+	–	–	–	°	–	°	°	+	–	°	°	–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	°	+	°	+	–	+	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	°	+	°	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	°	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	°	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	°	°	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	°	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	°	+	–	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	°	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	°	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	°	+	+	–
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

NWA 262 136 [278]

W [252 251]

NWA 267

NWA 224

N [784]

NWA [783]

[p. 373]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W noose for deer present (Smith, notes). [224]

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH). [231]

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: 716 There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To:- (LP). 301 Tō: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of 787 Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted